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lands, he grills fish for a meal; when a feast is being cooked, a man assists his wife and children; when his wife is sick or gadding about, he may cook because no one expects him to go hungry; if a man is a cripple and debarred from men's work, he may cook; if there are no older sisters, a boy may help his mother prepare the Sunday feast. The one berdache on the island spends much of his time cooking with the women. Men always prepare pigs for cooking.

In former days it was tapu to eat or to carry food into the sleep house. All eating was done inside the *male inna* or out-of-doors. Even today an adult Pukapukan rarely eats in a sleep house, though children often carry food into the house.

COCONUT DISHES

Coconut has always been the basic food of the Pukapukans. Unlike talo and fish, which are not sufficiently plentiful, coconut in some form is eaten every day. Informants regard it as the best of Pukapukan foods because it gives the greatest variety of dishes. They say that the minimum number of nuts a man in good health requires each day to keep him strong and healthy is 10 large-sized drinking nuts, besides plenty of fish. During the great famine the daily ration of each person was four nuts which, with a little fish, was the only food. This was enough to maintain life but not enough to keep the people strong.

Coconuts are eaten exclusively by sick persons because of the tapu on their eating fish and because of the scarcity of talo. No stage of the nut or any portion of it is tapu at this time.

The coconut in its various stages is most often eaten uncooked. Methods of eating and preparing are:

1. The sweet husk of the *mangalo* is chewed (*ngamngami*) and sucked until it is dry. The edible husk is not grated for use as a flavoring in other dishes, as it is elsewhere, but is eaten ungrated and uncooked by itself or with a complement of hard, mature coconut flesh (*ipiipi*) or fish.

2. Occasionally *mukomuko* is baked (*mukomuko tao*) and eaten with *ipiipi*. The leafy growth or tissue (*muko*) in the heart of the coconut tree is eaten only when a tree is blown down or cut out. It is never taken from a living tree; to do so would kill the tree.

3. Nuts at the *mata* and *hatihati* stages are eaten raw or are baked (*niu mata tao* and *niu hatihati tao*) and eaten without a food complement (*kinaki*).

4. The following is the method employed in making *niu kalokalo* from the *niu mata:* The drinking liquid is poured into an empty shell, and the nut is grated with the *kalokalo* implement. Then the liquid is poured back, and the grated flesh and liquid are stirred together (*pau*). This is especially an infant's food. From the *niu mata* is also made *ipu niu kalokalo* by baking the unopened nut in the oven or by cooking on hot coals or stones a nut opened at the eyes and propped up on stones. After baking or cooking the flesh is grated and mixed with the hot liquid. This is prepared especially for sick persons. The unopened *niu mata* is cooked on hot stones (*niu mata tunu*). The hot liquid is considered especially beneficial for parturient women.

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while died and it is presumed that this child will continue indefinitely to live with his own parents while being considered a member of the adopting father's lineage. In a third case, the reason is the illness of both adopting parents. In another, the adopting father is a very old man, unable to care for the child. He had previously also adopted the child's father, who lived with him as a boy. A further case did not involve a change of residence on the part of the adopted child because the adopting father is the husband of the child's maternal grandmother, with whom the child's unmarried mother lives. The reason given in two other cases is the death of the adopting parent or his wife. In the remaining five cases, involving eleven *tama hokoti*, no explanation could be offered by informants, though it is likely that the personal preferences of the blood and adopting parents were deciding factors.

Generally the *tama hokoti* is adopted before birth:

When a couple decides to adopt, they go to the selected parents at the time the mother is about three months pregnant. They say: "We wish to adopt this child as a *tama hokoti*," and then specify whether the sex of the child will make any difference. The blood parents discuss the matter with the paternal and maternal grandparents and with their bilateral kinship groups, to see if there is any objection to breaking a descent line, or whether any other friend or relative has a prior claim on the child. If agreement is reached, the adopting parents are informed, and from this time on they are required to feed the pregnant mother with the best of foods and to make special provision for her family whenever there is a food division.

The child's birth takes place in the house of the blood father, unless the house of the adopting father is close by, in which event delivery may take place in that house. Both adopting parents are present at the delivery as a matter of course, because of the fiction that it is really their child that is being born. All the relatives of the adopting parents make a point of being present for the same reason. It is the adopting group that renders all the necessary assistance to the parturient woman. The blood father and relatives may also be present, but only as onlookers who take no part in the confinement proceedings. After the child's birth, the adopting parents continue to be responsible for the mother and for the child. They provide the birth feast and the names for the new child.

Thereafter the mother nurses the child, who remains with her exclusively until time for weaning. Food gifts to the mother continue throughout the feeding period. At weaning, the adopting parents take formal possession of their child. A small feast marks the handing over; the adopting parents make gifts of valuables, pearl-shell hooks, malos, etc., to the blood group. This completes the adoption, and henceforth the child lives with the adopting parents. The blood parents give up all control over the child, and the child in turn assumes all the duties and responsibilities of its position as *tama hokoti* to the adopting parents.

As distinguished from a *tama hokoti*, the feeding child (*tama mangai*) goes without ceremony to live with the adopting parents, who feed him. He helps his feeding parents, and brings to their household the food shares he receives from the village divisions. The relationship begins when the child is sent to relatives to be weaned:

Through a mixture of personal and economic motives, relatives may decide to keep a feeding child with them. The matter is discussed with the blood parents and decided upon, usually an easy matter, as no change of lineage membership is involved. The child remains a member of his home village. If he is taken by relatives in another village, he brings to this household foods in which the adopting village is deficient. Thus the adopting parents participate in a supply of food that would otherwise be denied them. If the adopting parents [illegible] feeding child, they make arrangements to have

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842 827 stops the monthly period and creates the fetus. If the fetus is male, it is formed mainly from the semen. If the fetus is female, it is formed mainly from the blood of the female. If the child when born partakes strongly of the likeness of the father and the mother, then it has been formed equally from the semen and the blood of the mother. The best time for conception, according to Pau, is immediately after the menstrual period, never before; common opinion, however, has no idea as to whether one part of the monthly cycle is more or less favorable to conception than another.

843 787 The recognized sign of conception is cessation of the menses, invariably accompanied by the mother's having a *miti makatiti tangata* (conception dream) of a coconut tree full of nuts, or of a fruitful taro patch, or of blossoming flowers or blooming trees. A later indication recognized is the darkening of the nipples. The sign for the father is a *miti makatiti tangata* of a flock of birds. When a man has this dream he tells his wife of it and asks her to confirm the fact of her pregnancy. Pau said that the god of the lineage sends these dreams to the parents or to relatives of the couple, and they are sure signs of pregnancy.

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843 Gestation is reckoned as taking ten full moons to complete. Delivery is to be expected on the tenth moon after conception takes place. A woman refers to the moon in which she expects confinement as her *makangaulu* (tenth). No mnemonic device is used in the moon count.

842 No contraceptive methods are known, nor is there a belief in the possibility of contraception.

No medicine or therapy is known that will enable a sterile woman to have children. The only cause of sterility and hence the only cure is psychological:

> All the reasons adduced for specific cases of sterility relate to the primary cause that the woman, or her husband, has a bad heart (*ngakau kino*). In order to have children, the woman must be humble and obedient to her husband, faithful in thought and deed, not given to affairs with other men, and sincerely anxious to have children, upon which she must concentrate all her thoughts, during all her waking life. From this point of view, a Pukapukan woman is considered sterile (*wawine fanga*, woman of stone) not only if she has not had children, but if she has borne no more than one or two, or again, if, having had a child by a first marriage, she has remarried and has had no more children. According to informant's classification, the cultural ideal may be carried so far as to consider sterile a woman who has had four children, all by her first husband, and all of whom have died. The cultural attitude to sterility is best illustrated by the remark made by a young man (*lopa*) to a sterile woman. It was on the evening following a big food division, when a group of young people were sitting about discussing the way the food had been divided. Chiding a childless woman of 35, the young man said: "What a pity to make a division of food for a woman without children. All she is good for is to *titiko* (evacuate)." It is good to give a full division to a woman with children, because then the food goes to make more children, but if the woman is sterile, the food is wasted.

Pregnancy

843 Nausea after eating is common at the beginning of pregnancy. Another illness that marks pregnancy is the formation of an abscess on the abdomen. This is likely to occur in the second month. Not only is the pregnancy the

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843 cause of the sickness, but the sickness itself is proof positive of the pregnancy.

The parents may continue to have intercourse right up to the time the child is delivered, without causing any injurious effects either to mother or child. No new position is adopted in intercourse, but the husband takes care to lighten his weight (endeavours) on the woman as much as possible.

Many tapus are observed by the pregnant woman. When she becomes pregnant for the first time, her mother or other female relative warns her about the various restrictions: "Obey these and your child will be born well and in good health; disobey them and you will have a hard labor and the child will be physically disfigured or a weakling." Inadvertence or lack of knowledge is no excuse for the breaking of these tapus. Only rarely could violations be set right by special interventions directed to the goddess Tuna.

[176] The following behavior tapus do not greatly restrict the everyday activities of the pregnant woman:

A pregnant woman may not spit out in quick succession any food, fish bones, or indigestible food scraps. If she does, her child will be born with a mouth that is continually drooling and dribbling saliva. If she needs to clear her mouth she must expectorate vigorously once and once only. A pregnant woman must not work in the taro fields, not because of possible injury to the child, but because it is likely to cause hemorrhage at delivery. This tapu is rarely observed today. A pregnant woman should not adorn herself with vegetable (*pul*), decorative belts, or other ornaments that are wound around the body. If she does, her child will be born with the umbilical cord twisted around its neck, and so likely as not choked to death. A pregnant woman may not wind up hanks of fishline, or mesh of any sort, nor may she wring out coconut cream, sauce dyes, or clothes after washing, nor may she have anything to do with twisted materials of any nature lest her child have its cord twisted about its neck. Not nodding is not fraught with any harmful consequences, provided the woman does not roll her plaiting materials in the first place. If a woman quarrels with her husband, she will have a miscarriage, or else her child, when born, will be unruly and hard to manage.

843 A woman who dislikes her favorite foods during pregnancy and longs for special dishes such as nuts with sweet bukes, pandanus keys, flying fish, or 261 *Tridacna* shellfish, may safely indulge her tastes provided she does not eat the following foods which will have disastrous results:

Eating *heuvo* crab must gives her child crooked legs; eating *aufe* crab must gives her child bow legs. The body of the *heuvo* crab may be eaten, but not the legs. Again, eating the abdomen of the *heuvo* crab results in red scrotches in the male child or large red labia *majora* in the female child. Eating fish caught by spearing produces little pink marks or abscesses on the skin of the child. The fact that husbands are not careful about the way they kill fish is given as the reason for the wide prevalence today of chronic skin sores on many bodies. These sores break out on the child in places corresponding to the places where the barb of the spear entered the skin of the fish. The pregnant woman may not eat any fish killed by a thrown stone or club, lest her child have a lad, injured foot or be born with the lack of its shell cut and scrambled in. Whether the fish is killed by her husband, by male relatives, or by unrelated men makes no difference to the incidence of the result. Hence a woman must be careful of the food she eats from a food division or feast.

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Eating fish with small mouths, such as *mamoi* or *kaiawa*, produces a small mouth in the child. Eating the head of a fish with a large mouth, like the groupers, produces a large mouth. Eating a horned fish, like the *ume*, unicorn fish, or the *kalili*, produces a lump on the forehead of the child or a horn on its back (*tala tua*) similar to the "horn" on the back of the *kalili*. Certain other fish, like the *akuaku*, needle fish, the pregnant woman may eat with safety, provided she does not touch the head or the long tail. Eating a flat fish, such as the *oli* or the *pangipangi*, varieties of flounder, makes the baby grow long and flat. Eating the head of a fish with large teeth produces a baby with two very large incisor teeth. Eating a fish that has poison barbs or fins produces two bony nodules on the ankles of the child. *Pala* (*Acanthocybium*), albacore, bonito, red mullet, and snappers are considered good for the pregnant woman, but she must be careful to eat no fish which is beginning to spoil or has soft flesh, lest the skin of the child be soft and partly rotten.

In general, coconuts are good for the pregnant mother provided they are freshly picked from the tree. Eating or drinking nuts that are a day or more old produces sore spots on the skin of the child, for there is the presupposition that there are slightly affected spots on the shell or flesh of a nut one day old. If the drinking nut is very old, the skin of the child will be similarly rotten. Eating a very large nut produces a child with an abnormally large head. Drinking misshapen coconuts, of which a part of the shell is concave, produces concavities on the skull of the baby. Eating or drinking of a nut from the center of a large cluster of nuts, where the nuts have been tightly packed together in growing, compresses tightly or crushes the baby's head.

Eating the young shoots of the *talo* plant produces in the male child a birthmark on the forehead, in the female child a birthmark on the *labia majora*. Eating *talo* corms with large protuberances on them produces warts on the head of the child. Eating a tuber with a double root produces a male child with two membranes (*kaiawa*) on the scrotum, a female child with two membranes joining the *labia majora* to the anus. Eating rotten *talo* causes the eyes and navel of the child to be infected with disease, and gives the child a general physical weakness. Eating *talo* tubers that have been gnawed by a rat or *kaipou* crab produces sores on the skin of the child.

Eating the leaf shoots on the side of the pandanus key produces a child with two *pili* nuts (cartilaginous protuberances—*tangi*) in front of the ear. Eating over-ripe pandanus keys produces sores on the body of the child. Eating crushed or misshapen bananas produces a male child with a very big penis or a female child with a very wide membrane between *labia majora* and anus.

Eating a bird whose wing was broken when it was caught produces a baby with weak arms; a bird whose chest was injured in the catching gives the baby a weak and diseased chest; a bird with prominent breast bones produces a pigeon breast in the child. Uninjured birds in perfect condition are suitable food.

A final class of foods that must be eaten with care is shellfish and turtle. Eating periwinkles (*alili*) produces warts (*ikoupa alili*) on the top of the baby's head. *Tridacna* seems to be the only safe shellfish that the mother may indulge in. Eating the head of the turtle produces two scars on the medial sagittal plane of the head like the marks on the head of the turtle. Eating the plastron of the turtle makes the child suffer from respiratory defects and breathe in a noisy, labored fashion after the manner of the turtle. Eating the carapace of the turtle produces a hunch-backed child. Eating turtle eggs produces a child born with a hernia. Eating the green fat of the turtle renders the child liable to be born with a perpetually running nose and eyes. With the above exceptions, the flesh of the turtle is a good food for the mother to eat.

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From the list of foods that she must take care not to eat, it is evident that the ideal diet for the pregnant woman consists of the general foods of the Pukapukan diet, with the caution that they must be fresh and sound in shape. Foods that have special peculiarities of shape are undesirable because

843 of possible contagious influence on the shape of the child growing in the womb.

The pregnant woman should be careful not to bring on miscarriage after the fourth month of pregnancy. Though there is no record of deliberate attempts to produce miscarriage by physical means, miscarriage is easily produced by psychological means. When a woman is dissatisfied with her husband, or commits adultery in thought or deed, or does not love her husband as she ought, or does not desire a child by him, or is in general mental distress, a miscarriage is likely to follow. No preventive is known to ward off the possible effects of such a psychological upset, save only the counsel to the married women to be of good cheer and of easy heart.

847 As to the frequency of abortion, it was impossible to gain any information. There is a fairly well established technique for securing abortion, however, and informants could give many cases where it might be desired:

> If the child is the result of incest; if the woman is tired of the man who is the father of her child and wishes to marry another man; if the woman fears that her new husband will not wish to be the sociological father of her child or will despise her because she is pregnant by another man; if a married woman becomes pregnant by another man, and is afraid that her husband will shortly discover her intrigue; if a woman is pregnant by a man who is ugly or physically deformed, and is afraid her child may be born with the deformities of its father. For all these reasons a woman might decide on an abortion. A well-informed woman informant knew of some of her friends who had had an abortion, but she thought it occurred nowadays among unmarried girls.
>
> The method of securing abortion is by physical manipulation, called *kumi te uho* (pressure on the fetus) *or kumi papa* (pressure on the pregnant woman). A medicine man is rarely employed because it is shameful to get an outsider to do this. The father or mother of the pregnant woman gives her a prolonged and severe *kumikumi* (deep pressure) using the *wahatele* technique (pp. 338), rubbing from the top of the abdomen toward the thighs. "The blood inside gets all mixed up, it flows outward from the body, and carries the child with it", is the rationalization given by Pua. He said this *kumikumi* method would be sure to work up to the fourth month of pregnancy. Another informant believed that the efficacy of the *kumikumi* would be improved if the hands were dipped in hot water before being applied to the abdomen. This informant also recommended that the pregnant woman should drink plenty of hot water.

766 Death during pregnancy or confinement is considered a particularly bad
761 death (*mate pili*), whether the child lives or dies. A deceased pregnant
843 woman is buried in the condition in which she died; no attempt is made to remove the fetus from the womb to bury it separately. No special ideas of fear are associated with the ghost of an unborn child. Informants were very vague as to its exact status in the Underworld.

843 In general, the social attitude toward the pregnant mother is matter-of-fact. There are no tapus on her participation in social events. Tapus on her diet and behavior are all destined to protect her baby's health or bodily form; they are not a matter of social pride or shame in her. Her husband, if she has one, treats her with especial consideration during this period by provid-

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843 ing her with more fish than he otherwise would. But her work is not lightened by outside assistance during her pregnancy.

Sex of the Child

842 Methods of determining the sex of a child before its birth are based on
787 observations of the mother's abdomen and on dreams. If the pregnant woman's abdomen is small and extends outward in front, she is thought to be carrying a female child. If her abdomen is large and fat at the sides with predominant lateral extension, her child is a male child. If the mother or any of her relatives has a dream of talo during the period of gestation, it is taken as a sign that the child will be a girl. But if the dream is of a coconut tree, a male child is to be born. Somewhat similarly, a dream of a beautiful bird means that the child, male or female, will resemble the bird in beauty; a dream of a white man means that the child will be of fair skin.

842 There seems to be no cultural pattern of sex preference either for the first-born or for later children. A man wants his first-born to be a son; a woman wants a daughter. A family of children of alternating sexes (*poli towilowiloahi*), with either a boy or girl as the first-born is generally preferred to a family of boys only (*poli tane*), or to a family of girls only (*poli wahine*), or to a family of first boys and then girls, or vice versa. The pros and cons of having more boys than girls, or more girls than boys, were discussed by informants Veti and Talainga in a sort of informal debate. Veti is the father of three boys and a girl, all adult. Talainga, having had no children of his own, adopted a little girl (despite his alleged preference for sons). Their discussion is summarized thus:

Talainga speaks first: The desirable children are sons. I would not like to have daughters because they stop for only a short time beneath the roof of the father. When a girl marries, her husband takes her away to another house, and she is so caught up in the ties of the other household that she is lost to her father for good. On the other hand, a son stays at home, and when the father is old and weak the son will take care of him. The son's wife comes as a new person to the house. Where there are many sons, there are many wives who, with all their relatives, make many hands to assist in the work of the household. When the father is dead, it is the son who carries on the family line, whereas the daughter's children belong to the paternal lineage of another. Most men prefer their first-born to be a male. This gives much certainty to succession, it means that the paternal descent line will not be lost, whether the following children are male or female. It continues—bar accidents—the genealogical record, whereas daughters break the record and continue another line. Because of accidents, it is always well to have more sons than daughters. The descent line would be lost by a generation of daughters only, for the children of daughters go to the lineage of their father.

But something must be said for the point of view of the mother: she would be glad to have the first child a female, for this increases her status with the maternal lineage, assures continuation of descent within the lineage, and finally, gives the mother more help about the house as long as the child stays at home.

By having more sons than daughters, a man gets more food shares from various

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868 of fishing there is in tales and chants. Similarly, in the learning of the old
533 chants and songs, practices are held before some village contest, and the
245 village group of men and women, young and old, sit up throughout the night repeating time and time again the songs and chants which are to be sung at the conclusion of the contest. At the present time, when the villages go to the reserves to make copra, the opportunity is taken to alternate nights devoted to the practicing of chants with the nights devoted to the customary hymn practices.

PUBERTY

304 No surgical operation or physical manipulation was performed on the Pukapukan boy or girl. A foreskin naturally stretched back from the glans was considered a shameful abnormality (*luma*) because it gave the appearance of circumcision. It was a matter for joking among the girls and caused much sorrow to the boy affected. One reference only to circumcision occurs in the folk tales (*p.* 54).

841 The occurrence of the first menses is spoken of as the opening or piercing
864 of the body (*na pu*).

145 Though her mother does not tell her in advance what to expect, a girl is never-
881 less well informed from discussion with her older girl friends. When she finds herself menstruating (*toto*) for the first time, she says to her mother, "I aku na toto" (I am bleeding). Informants say that a girl is naturally frightened (*mataku*) or ashamed (*wakama*) when she first discovers she is menstruating. Cramps are common in both stomach and back. Periods range in length from three days to a week. The menstrual pad (*pulu tautape*) consists of several coconut husks pounded soft and tied with a piece of coconut fiber. Each pad is disposed of in a separate hole dug on the beach for the purpose. There is no fear of the blood. The method of disposal is merely a convenient way of getting rid of soiled objects. A woman does not have sexual intercourse during the menstrual period, on pain of becoming ill from having the blood "pushed up into her chest"; but there is no tapu on her activities or contacts with members of the household. No physical explanation is given for the facts of menstruation. If a young girl commences to menstruate before her mother considers that other signs of physical maturity warrant it, the mother is angry with the girl because this indicates that she is already having a love affair with some man or is, at least, already interested in the opposite sex. Molingi said, "Girls who do not interest themselves in men do not start to menstruate until later on when they are older and ready to marry. Girls who menstruate too early have an undue fondness for men."

841 Two types of physical therapy are used in cases of menstrual trouble. For menstruation prolonged beyond the average four days, the blood is washed away from the pudenda, and the parts bathed in hot water. For delayed menstruation marked by pain, the body is bathed in cold water, either fresh or salt, to cool off the body; and the abdomen is then pressed (*lomilomi*) until menstruation commences.

886 Informants could not explain the recognized connection between the ces-
[843] sation of the menses with pregnancy, nor could they explain the physiology of the menopause. This is referred to as the closing of the blood flow by the